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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 63rd MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Wednesday, 18 November 1992, at 10 a.m.

President: Mr. GANEV (Bulgaria)

- Policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa [33] (continued)

  (a) Report of the Special Committee against Apartheid

  (b) Report of the Intergovernmental Group to Monitor the Supply and Shipping of Oil and Petroleum Products to South Africa

  (c) Report of the Commission against Apartheid in Sports

  (d) Reports of the Secretary-General

  (e) Report of the Special Political Committee

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- United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa [34] (continued)

  (a) Report of the Secretary-General

  (b) Draft resolution

The meeting was called to order at 10.30 a.m.

AGENDA ITEMS 33 AND 34 (continued)

POLICIES OF APARTHEID OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA

(a) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID (A/47/22)

(b) REPORT OF THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL GROUP TO MONITOR THE SUPPLY AND SHIPPING OF OIL AND PETROLEUM PRODUCTS TO SOUTH AFRICA (A/47/43)

(c) REPORT OF THE COMMISSION AGAINST APARTHEID IN SPORTS (A/47/45)

(d) REPORTS OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/47/525, A/47/559, A/47/574)

(e) REPORT OF THE SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE (A/47/616)

UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL AND TRAINING PROGRAMME FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA

(a) REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/47/513)

(b) DRAFT RESOLUTION (A/47/L.15)

The PRESIDENT: I should like to remind representatives that, in accordance with the decision taken yesterday afternoon, the list of speakers in the debate will be closed today at 12 noon. I therefore request representatives wishing to participate in the debate to inscribe their names before noon today.

Mr. AKSIN (Turkey): The apartheid policies of the Government of South Africa have been a major source of preoccupation to the United Nations for many years. Turkey nas given continuous support to the efforts made towards the total elimination of this abhorrent system, and has always participated actively in the debate on this item in the General Assembly. We have never ceased to underline that apartheid cannot be reformed and that it must be dismantled totally. The process of ending apartheid through negotiations has reached a new stage. We are highly gratified by this development. It is a source of particular pleasure for my delegation that the prospect of a new, democratic and non-racial South Africa appears much closer than we ever dared to hope a few years ago.

(Mr. Aksin, Turkey)

The results of the referendum held in South Africa on 17 March 1992 clearly demonstrated that the overwhelming majority of white South Africans supports the process of negotiations towards a non-racial democracy. Furthermore, the meeting between the President of South Africa and the President of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) on 26 September 1992 was a most encouraging step in the right direction. We are also encouraged by the agreements reached during that meeting on a number of issues, including those relating to the constitution-making process, to addressing the violence and to the release of political prisoners. The full implementation of the Record of Understanding is crucial to the creation of the mutual confidence and trust that are prerequisites for the establishment of a free, democratic and non-racial South Africa. All the political forces of South Africa should take full advantage of the opportunities that now exist, including the support of the international community.

Meanwhile, we must not lose sight of the fact that the road ahead will be difficult. Despite the commitment of the key parties, many problems and obstacles remain. The challenge for us now is to strike a balance between maintaining effective pressure for the complete dismantling of apartheid and rewarding and encouraging positive moves in that direction.

The recurrent violence, particularly in Boipatong and Ciskei, is a source of deep concern for Turkey. The persistent violence and the deterioration of the situation constitute a threat to peace and security in the region. Such violence is a formidable obstacle to the creation of a peaceful climate in the country.

(Mr. Aksin, Turkey)

In that connection, we welcome the Secretary-General's decision to deploy 50 United Nations observers in South Africa to provide a basis for putting an end to violence. In order to end the unsatisfactory situation effectively and to safeguard the lives and safety of all South Africans, the Government authorities, the parties and related organizations, and the structures under the National Peace Accord should extend their full cooperation to the United Nations observers to enable them to carry out their tasks.

We are certain that the international community will continue to support all the encouraging developments leading towards the building of a new, non-racial, free and democratic South Africa. All the parties in the country should do no less and should solemnly commit themselves to that goal.

Mr. PHOOFOLO (Lesotho): The aspirations and frustrations of all peace-loving South Africans, rightly and justifiably, found expression in the December 1989 Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa, adopted unanimously by the international community at the sixteenth special session of the General Assembly. Three years after its adoption, peace continues to be elusive and political violence continues to rage on and to plague South Africa. As yet there is no new negotiated constitution ushering in the new democratic South Africa to which the international community subscribed in the Declaration. The Declaration remains valid and relevant to present-day South Africa.

The struggle to eliminate decisively the discredited system of apartheid continues unabated. There is no way back. The way forward could have been irreversible by now had all parties concerned displayed genuine political

(Mr. Phoofolo, Lesotho)

will. The 17 March referendum was the last attempt by those opposed to democracy to win by contitutional means, to hold onto power, and to block any further process towards a non-racial, democratic South Africa.

It is imperative that the good will that seemingly prevailed before the first and second sessions of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA I and II) be recaptured. It is apparent to all that the negotiating process has entered its most crucial and difficult stage. The ongoing bilateral and multilateral talks among the main political actors in South Africa should be encouraged, provided that those talks eventually deliver a new, democratic South Africa.

The overriding issue for all the political actors has been how, and how quickly, to move towards a constitution enfranchising the blacks. Until there is universal adult suffrage in South Africa it will be misleading and deceitful to say that apartheid is dead. The fact of the matter is that the majority of the people still do not enjoy the right to vote and to be elected to the various governmental bodies.

The positive measures that have been taken by the South African Government since January 1990 are acknowledged and noted, but developments since May 1992 have clearly demonstrated that the political process in South Africa is very fragile and vulnerable. It became essential for all parties concerned to revisit the National Peace Accord of 14 September 1991. In welcoming the signing of the National Peace Accord and the subsequent beginning of negotiations in the context of CODESA, we in Lesotho urged all parties to participate seriously and genuinely in the negotiations on a new

(Mr. Phoofolo, Lesotho)

constitution based on established democratic principles, believing that the Accord had teeth. Alas, death by faceless killers has continued unabated in townships, on highways and on railways. Notorious cultural weapons continue to be displayed publicly.

Political violence remains the major obstacle in the process of negotiations. We have also been witness to the senseless massacres that have taken place over the past six months at Boipatong, Bisho and Folweni and on Johannesburg trains. It is totally incomprehensiable, especially in this much heralded era of democracy and respect for human rights, that there are human beings who walk on the corpses of their fellow countrymen just to satisfy their egos and their political ambitions. The escalation of political violence in South Africa should be contained and halted.

(Mr. Phoofolo, Lesotho)

The Kingdom of Lesotho continues to urge its South African neighbours to exercise fully and impartially their primary responsibility to end the ongoing violence in the country.

Mr. Nelson Mandela, gravely concerned at the ongoing spiral of violence and obviously guided by the moral principle that leaders have to be seen to be acting in unison to end the violence and senseless killings, made an appeal on 8 November 1992 to all blacks to end attacks against each other. On the heels of this appeal, the world has been stunned by Justice Goldstone's revelations of a "third force" involvement in ongoing violence. The African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) has repeatedly stated that atrocities which it has been accused of were carried out by "third force" elements. Justice Goldstone has in his possession evidence of the involvement of the highest levels of military intelligence, using agents in violence to discredit and destabilize ANC. How is ANC expected to negotiate with a party whose members are ruthlessly and callously subverting with impunity what is ostensibly being negotiated? The Monday revelations bring to mind the Inkatha slush funds as well as disclosures regarding the Civil Cooperation Bureau. These disclosures certainly work contrary to achievement of the desired goal through accommodation and mutual understanding.

Some elements of the police have been accused of involvement in violence and systematic brutality. This past July a prominent pathologist, Dr. Jonathan Gluckman, charged the South African police with a pattern of torturing and killing prisoners that he said was continuing unabated despite his appeals to President F. W. de Klerk. In another instance a police commander was convicted, after an initial cover-up, for the murder of innocent civilians at the settlement of Trust Feeds in Natal Province. It is indeed

(Mr. Phoofolo, Lesotho)

very regrettable that at times fingers still have to be pointed at certain elements in the police force. It is inconceivable that under suspicious circumstances a police officer can successfully and convincingly investigate a crime he himself is alleged to have committed. We urge the police to rise to the call of duty by serving all their fellow citizens without favour and thereby help the national effort to create a peaceful and democratic South Africa.

In addressing the Security Council on this very issue of violence in July we said:

> "It is neither a virtue nor a sound economic principle to appear to be encouraging an increasing role of funeral undertakers or expanding the coffin industry." (S/PV.3095, p. 181)

This traffic leading to the black graveyards should be reduced. The existing police force in South Africa, whose numbers have been reported to have swollen to 110,000, should be able to put to an end to the continuing massacres, should there be a genuine desire to do so by all concerned. For instance, the Law and Order Minister, Mr. H. Kriel, in a recent statement referring to hot spots around the country, said that the Government had "ample provisions" to deal with them under present security legislation. Those "ample provisions", taken together with the sophisticated and efficient law-enforcement machinery, need to be employed to facilitate the creation of the necessary climate for negotiations encouraged by the consensus declaration. We continue to appeal for application of those "ample provisions".

We welcome the position taken by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) Ad Hoc Committee of Heads of State and Government on Southern Africa, on 15 October 1992 during its ninth session, in Gaborone, Botswana, in expressing concern at the continuation of violence in South Africa, condemning the

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perpetrators of violence, and appealing political leaders to, inter alia, contribute all they could to end that violence. Some of the perpetrators have been identified by Justice Goldstone.

We welcome Security Council resolutions 765 (1992) and 772 (1992) and the subsequent deployment of a United Nations Monitoring Team in South Africa (UNOMSA). By the same token the presence of monitors from the Organization of African Unity, the Commonwealth and the European Economic Community is equally highly appreciated. In this regard, it becomes our fervent hope that the role of all monitors will not be confined to counting corpses and witnessing mass demonstrations. Their presence should have an effective impact in reducing violence, and they should be people of such competence and stature as to make a difference to the ongoing situation. In the light of recent disclosures, it appears that all monitors need to focus strongly also on operations by the security apparatus.

In his current report on the work of the Organization, the Secretary-General, in addressing the South African problem, says:

> "The international community must continue to assist the people of South Africa as a whole in their effort to bring an effective end to the violence and create conditions for negotiations leading towards a peaceful transition to a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa." (A/47/1, para. 129).

It is an appeal to all of us not to pay lip service to the democratic process in South Africa. The international community should always bear in mind that people are continuing to die as a result of brutal violence carried out by the very forces that have always been opposed to democratic change. Let us not only focus on violence but also and prepare for free and fair elections some time next year. We continue to be hopeful.

(Mr. Phoofolo, Lesotho)

It was indeed a magnanimous and commendable act by the African National Congress to have mounted investigations on the treatment of its prisoners during the struggle outside the country. A report was issued. But the "Further Indemnity Bill", recently passed into law, raises questions as to its purpose and intentions. The bill was opposed not only by liberation movements but even by the current Assembly. The question that lingers in people's minds is: who is to be "further indemnified", and for having done what, so as to justify the passage of a bill opposed by parliamentary and extra-parliamentary political groups? It can only be hoped that this decision by the President's Council will not create further obstacles to the negotiation process in the light of the current disturbing disclosures which point the finger at military intelligence's involvement in violence.

The hour has struck for South Africa truly to cross the Rubicon. The challenge facing all South Africans is to attain consensus among the major political parties in the country to ensure that a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa is established through genuine and faithful negotiations. It is the call of the United Nations Declaration on apartheid that the parties concerned should, in the context of the necessary climate, negotiate the future of their country and its people in good faith and in an atmosphere which, by mutual agreement between the liberation movements and the South African regime, would be free of violence. We welcomed the Joint Statement and Record of Understanding agreed to by President F.W. de Klerk and Mr. Nelson Mandela on 26 September 1992. We were equally heartened by the bilateral discussions between the leadership of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) and the South African Government held on 24 October 1992 in Botswana. We view them as a step in the right direction.

(Mr. Phoofolo, Lesotho)

Resuming the negotiation process leading to democracy calls for removal of all obstacles to a resumption of constitutional talks. The ongoing bilateral talks are viewed as a constructive endeavour, provided that those talks will eventually lead to multilateral talks that will point the only way forward.

It remains our considered view that the South African problem is soluble, provided that all political leaders show good will and political determination to start, in good faith, broad-based substantive negotiations leading to an agreement on the basic principles of a democratic constitution. Whether the ultimate destination is reached through a constituent assembly, a transitional authority or an interim Government is a matter to be decided by those who participate actively in the broad-based negotiations. It should be recalled that the United Nations Declaration refers to agreed transitional arrangements and modalities for the drawing up and adoption of a new constitution and for the transition to a democratic order, including the holding of elections. Only political tolerance and political will can usher in a negotiated solution.

It is imperative that the international community should continue to support the process in South Africa through a phased application of appropriate constructive measures, as warranted by ongoing developments. It thus equally behoves the international community to continue providing material, financial and other assistance to South Africans to address their serious socio-economic problems created by the apartheid legacy.

Is it not time that South Africa too should be a beneficiary of the much-vaunted new world order? It is our hope that the winds of change that took off from Cape Town in the late 1950s will soon veer back, bringing with them a new, democratic, non-racial South Africa enjoyed by all its citizens.

Mr. RAZALI (Malaysia): Late last year, the international community welcomed the positive developments that took place in South Africa, including the establishment of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA). The world community had anticipated that the historic occasion, the creation of CODESA, in itself would provide the momentum for the country's move towards a democratic and non-racial society. The international community was further encouraged when, in a national referendum in February of this year, the majority of the white population in South Africa supported the continuation of the reform process of President de Klerk.

Since then, there have been several setbacks, in particular the unabated violence in the townships, which led to the decision of the African National Congress (ANC) to suspend its participation in CODESA. The Malaysian delegation shares the concern stated in the Report of the Special Committee Against Apartheid

> "that the political process in that country is fragile and vulnerable, and that a sustained process to reach a peaceful, negotiated solution needs not only political will and tolerance among the leadership involved in the negotiations, but also a climate of domestic peace in the society as a whole." (A/47/22, para. 175)

Clearly, a tremendous amount of political will on the part of the leaders of all parties in South Africa is needed to bring the parties together again at the negotiating table and to revive the CODESA process. Precious time and lives have been lost, and certainly the peace process must not be allowed to be further delayed by the actions of those who do not want to see South Africa change. We sincerely urge the political leaders in South Africa to reaffirm their commitments to the National Peace Accord and to work seriously to end the violence which has, as reported by the Special Committee Against Apartheid,

(Mr. Razali, Malaysia)

reached unprecedented and dramatic levels (A/47/22, para. 18) during the period under review in 1992.*

The Boipatong massacre brought about a huge international outcry that led to United Nations Security Council Resolution 772 (1992), which decided to send military observers to South Africa as part of the United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa (UNOMSA), with a mandate to address areas of concern relevant to the question of violence and to strengthen and enhance the capacity of indigenous mechanisms seeking to end public violence and intimidation. In this connection, the decisions of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the Commonwealth and the European Community to send observers to monitor the political violence in South Africa were also helpful. The presence of those observers in South Africa underlined the increased role and stake of the international community in the peace process. It is our hope that the presence of those observers will contribute to easing political tension and promote an environment conducive to the renewal of constructive negotiations. The assessment of the Special Committee Against Apartheid is that the presence of United Nations observers during marches, rallies and other demonstrations at various locations did have "a deterrent effect on the conduct of all parties" (A/47/22, paras. 47 and 48). The Malaysian delegation hopes that this effect will be sustained and enduring. It is clear that the United Nations can and must contribute significantly to the peace process. While the Special Committee and the General Assembly have all these years been in the forefront of efforts, it is now incumbent on the Security Council to underpin those efforts by specific tangible actions and an increased United Nations presence. The overall role of the Organization

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* Mr. Karzay (Afghanistan), Vice-President, took the Chair.

(Mr. Razali, Malaysia)

must progressively increase as the issues focus sharply in the penultimate stages of the elimination of apartheid and as international pressure and sanctions continue.

tangible actions and increased United Nations presence. The overall role of the Organization must progressively increase as the issues focus sharply in the penultimate stage on the elimination of apartheid and as international pressure and sanctions continue.

We welcome the measures undertaken by the South African Government - following serious pressure by the international community, backed up by the good work of the Goldstone Commission and the Special Rapporteur of the Commission on Human Rights on the question of the use of mercenaries as a violation of human rights - to prevent criminal conduct by members of its security forces. Those measures include the setting up of a new body to investigate crimes committed by the police and the early retirement of some of the generals of the South African Police. The recent revelation by Justice Goldstone about activities of the South African military intelligence showed that the Government of South Africa should do more to allay the fear and suspicions of the masses with respect to its security forces. There are unanswered questions related to certain sectors of the South African authorities. The time has come for the authorities to manifest, clearly and transparently, a genuine commitment to equality and peace in South Africa. The Record of Understanding reached on 26 September 1992 between the Government of South Africa and the African National Congress for the release of all political prisoners is a very welcome development. The release of the political prisoners will be a kind of watershed that can be part of a healing process and will be an acknowledgement that those people are nationalists fighting for the cause of freedom.

(Mr. Razali, Malaysia)

The Malaysian delegation welcomes the decision of the ANC to return to the CODESA negotiating process. Similarly, the South African Government has also engaged in bilateral talks with the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC), with both sides agreeing to establish common ground on important basic principles. Those contacts between the Government and the parties concerned are crucial, since only negotiations and political commitment will make it possible to emerge from a seemingly difficult impasse.

(Mr. Razali, Malaysia)

The report of the Special Committee against Apartheid underlines a very grave picture of the socio-economic inequalities that prevail in South Africa. The number of unemployed is expected to reach eight million before the end of the decade. There are a growing number of South Africans - 2.5 million according to the organization Operation Hunger - who cannot afford to pay for their basic nutritional needs. These hardships, deeply rooted as a result of decades of apartheid, certainly would hamper development and consolidation once South Africa is in a transition period. In this regard, the Malaysian delegation notes with keen interest the establishment in South Africa of an economic negotiating forum, as reported in paragraph 177 of the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid, which would seek an accord between Government, business and labour. We join in the expectation that the forum will address the problems of resetting economic priorities towards the correction of socio-economic imbalances and towards an economic growth process capable of sustaining a considerable widening of services, human resources development and economic participation.

My delegation remains concerned that the collaboration between South Africa and Israel in the military and nuclear fields is continuing. South Africa is one of Israel's major arms customers, and certainly their continuing collaboration in these matters is in violation of Security Council resolutions 418 (1977) and 421 (1977) concerning the mandatory arms embargo against South Africa.

My delegation supports totally the view that the process of change must be in the form of the establishment of a transitional governing arrangement, the adoption of a new constitution based on the fundamental principles envisaged in the 1989 United Nations Declaration on Apartheid and the

(Mr. Razali, Malaysia)

installation of a new Government after a free and fair election based on the new constitution. In this regard, my delegation wishes to express its firm support for the work of the Special Committee against Apartheid and the United Nations Centre Against Apartheid in mobilizing and maintaining international support for the elimination of apartheid through the early establishment in South Africa of a society based on a peacefully negotiated democratic and non-racial constitution. We welcome the readiness of the Special Committee and the Centre to concentrate their attention on the requirements of the disadvantaged sectors of South African society and to promote appropriate and coordinated responses from the international community. Certainly, these steps are more than timely and must be taken in tandem with the progress of the negotiations on political settlement, particularly in ascertaining that the pillars of apartheid are totally removed. The report of the Secretary-General on the third progress report on the implementation of the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa (A/47/574) reflects that some of the remnants of these basic laws of apartheid still remain. The Government of South Africa must now take steps to do everything possible to dismantle the vestiges of these laws, as they are unacceptable obstacles to peace and national accord.

Mr. LI Daoyu (China) (interpretation from Chinese): Over the past 40 years the issue of policies of apartheid of the Government of South Africa has been a priority item on the agenda of the General Assembly. At present, while the process of political and peaceful settlement of the South African issue has entered a substantive stage, and the just struggle against apartheid and racial inequality waged by the South African people is in a crucial period, it is highly important for the General Assembly to review this issue again.

(Mr. Li Daoyu, China)

Equality of all peoples without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion is one of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. For years the South African Government has pursued the policy of racial discrimination and apartheid, and deprived the black people of their fundamental rights. For this reason, it has been confronted with the resolute opposition of the South African people and condemned by the international community. In the past two years, pressured and urged by internal and external forces, the South African Government, led by President de Klerk, has carried out a number of reform measures. Some positive steps have been taken in abolishing legal instruments of apartheid and releasing political prisoners, which has a positive trend in the process of achieving democracy in South Africa. We welcome such developments. However, it must be pointed out that in South Africa the rule of the white minority over the black majority is yet to be changed and the aspiration to racial equality is yet to be fulfilled. Black people still cannot fully enjoy equal rights in the political, economic and social fields. There is still a long way to go before the complete eradication of the apartheid system and the establishment of a unified, democratic and non-racial State in South Africa.

The Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa, adopted by the General Assembly at its sixteenth special session, sets forth specific objectives for the political settlement of the South African issue, creates the climate for negotiations and establishes guidelines for the process of negotiation. The Chinese delegation is of the view that at the present stage further progress in the political settlement of the South African issue depends on whether constitutional negotiations can be resumed at an early date and whether violence can be completely eliminated.

(Mr. Li Daoyu, China)

Constitutional negotiation is the cornerstone of the political settlement of the South African issue. Only after all the parties concerned reach agreement on constitutional issues, including constitutional principles and the establishment of a Constituent Assembly, can there be hope for further progress in the democratic process in South Africa. We are happy to note that President de Klerk and Mr. Mandela, President of the African National Congress (ANC), met on 26 September this year and reached an understanding on the establishment of a Constituent Assembly through democratic elections and the resumption of constitutional negotiations. This is another favourable development in the situation in South Africa, which marks an important step towards a political settlement of the South African issue in conformity with the strong desire of the South African people for the speedy achievement of peace and stability. We hope that the South African Government will sincerely and fully meet its commitment and adopt practical measures so as to ensure an early resumption and continued progress of the constitutional negotiations on the basis of equality and mutual trust.

Another key element to the political settlement of the South African issue is the elimination of violence. The Declaration adopted by the General Assembly at is sixteenth special session points out explicitly that the parties concerned in South Africa should

> "negotiate the future of their country and its people in good faith and in an atmosphere which, by mutual agreement between the liberation movements and the South African regime, would be free of violence."
> (resolution S-16/1, annex, para. 8)

This constitutes the essential condition for the political settlement of the South African issue. Unfortunately, judging from the reality of South Africa,

(Mr. Li Daoyu, China)

this condition is far from being met. The recent frequent violent clashes have not only resulted in the brutal massacre of thousands of black people, but have also seriously poisoned the political atmosphere in South Africa and hindered the negotiation process. This year the Security Council has adopted resolutions 765 (1992) and 772 (1992) on the question of violence in South Africa, and has taken the necessary actions.

(Mr. Li Daoyu, China)

The Chinese delegation would like to reiterate that we resolutely condemn any violent acts aimed at undermining the democratic process in South Africa. We are in favour of the relevant resolutions and actions of the Security Council and support the reasonable proposals and recommendations of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), and all the efforts of the Secretary-General to end the violent clashes in South Africa. We urge the South African Government earnestly to implement the National Peace Accord, to take prompt and effective measures to check the violence and bring the bloodshed to an end so as to create the atmosphere and conditions necessary for the continuation of the democratic process.

The question of apartheid in South Africa is an issue confronting the entire international community. Over the past several decades our Organization, together with all the justice-upholding forces of the international community, have made unswerving efforts to eradicate as soon as possible the apartheid system, and have stood firmly by the South African people in their struggle against apartheid and for equality and freedom. This is one of the important factors for achieving progress in a political solution to the South African issue. At present the democratic process in South Africa is at a crossroads, and the international community should continue its efforts, maintain the pressure and urge the South African Government to take practical, positive measures to accelerate the process of the political settlement of the South African issue.

The Chinese Government and people have all along opposed South Africa's apartheid policy and supported the South African people, the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) in their just struggle. We highly appreciate the spirit shown and the contributions made by Mr. Mandela,

(Mr. Li Daoyu, China)

President of the ANC, in combating the apartheid system. We also appreciate the OAU's reasonable proposals and positive role in advancing the democratic process and putting an end to the violent clashes in South Africa. In future the Chinese Government and people will, as always, stand by the South African people and support their efforts to eradicate the apartheid system and build a unified, democratic and non-racial new South Africa. With the support of our Organization and the international community, the Chinese delegation also hopes that the national liberation movements in South Africa will further strengthen their unity and coordination so as to promote the early realization of this goal.

Mr. LICHEM (Austria): The developments in South Africa give rise both to great hopes and to serious concerns.

The creation of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) and the progress achieved in this comprehensive negotiating forum have to be seen as positive results of historic significance. Equally, the overwhelming support for the process of change given by the white electorate in the referendum held last May was an important step on the path from a dark past into a brighter future. The release of 400 political prisoners following the agreement between the South African Government and the African National Congress (ANC) on 26 September removed another major obstacle to further progress.

But we have also witnessed the second round of talks in CODESA breaking up in recrimination and increasing violence, the most critical factor blocking the way towards an atmosphere conducive to a solution to the remaining unresolved issues. According to the Commission on Human Rights, from July 1990 to June 1992, 6,229 politically motivated deaths had occurred in

(Mr. Lichem, Austria)

South Africa. During the same period, 49 massacres were recorded. The cruel killings at Boipatong and Bisho will always remind us of the extent of this senseless slaughtering.

This violence has its roots in, among other causes, a highly fragmented political and social system, which makes the emergence of a political culture of tolerance and mutual accommodation very difficult. In addition, there is a lack of respect for the administrative and judicial authorities, which also lack credibility.

There is no way around the primary responsibility of the South African Government to protect the life and property of every South African. Other parties involved must also assume their responsibility and fully honour their commitments under the National Peace Accord.

In this context, I should like to pay tribute to the valuable work of Justice Goldstone's Commission of Inquiry, whose recommendations offer constructive and concrete advice that should be heeded.

While it is certainly for the South Africans themselves to overcome the present difficulties in the process of change, the international community, after taking effective measures to bring about this negotiating process, should also render assistance at this juncture. Austria therefore fully supports Security Council resolutions 765 (1992) and 772 (1992) and welcomes the enhanced involvement of the Secretary-General and the presence of United Nations observers in South Africa. Together with observer teams from the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the European Community and the Commonwealth, they seek to dissuade the potential authors of violence and thereby help create an atmosphere conducive to a resumption of the negotiations.

(Mr. Lichem, Austria)

In the coming days the talks between the South African Government and the ANC will continue. We are optimistic that these talks will lead to broad-based negotiations on how to proceed in order to adopt a constitution for a truly democratic South Africa and on transitional arrangements. Austria hopes that Inkatha, the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) and other parties will reconsider their attitude and soon participate in the negotiating process.

Every day lost now is costly in terms of victims of violence and a deterioration of the economy. If the prevailing insecurity and uncertainty are not swiftly stopped, the economy will be in a shambles. This would be all the more tragic, as the overcoming of the legacy of apartheid, in particular in the economic and social sector, will require an active and thriving economy.

Apartheid meant political oppression, social injustice and economic despair to the majority of South Africans. Let no effort be spared so that soon the new democratic, non-racial and united South Africa will be tantamount to freedom, equal rights, social stability and prosperity for all South Africans.

Mr. KALPAGE (Sri Lanka): The General Assembly, by resolution 46/79 A, inter alia, called upon the South African authorities to enhance the climate conducive to negotiations. This was to be done by ensuring the immediate release of any remaining political prisoners, the unhindered return of refugees and exiles and the repeal of repressive and discriminatory legislation still in place. The resolution also called on the South African authorities to address the glaring inequalities created by apartheid.

During the past year many positive developments have taken place in this direction. The release of political prisoners, the return of political exiles and the repeal of key laws of apartheid are some of the welcome developments. We note, however, that the Special Committee against Apartheid states in its report (A/47/22, para.38) that "the release of such [political] prisoners has virtually ceased since the beginning of 1992" while "substantial progress was achieved concerning the return of political exiles".

The primary objective of the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa for the establishment of a non-racial and democratic society has yet to be achieved.

The process of creating a negotiating framework towards the peaceful end of apartheid culminated in the launching in December 1991 of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA). CODESA I, in which 19 parties and organizations as well as numerous observers participated, adopted a Declaration of Intent whereby the participants committed themselves to bring about an undivided South Africa free from apartheid and to some fundamental constitutional principles.

However, the promise of CODESA I was not fulfilled by the results of CODESA II. It is unfortunate that CODESA II failed to reach agreement on a

(Mr. Kalpagé, Sri Lanka)

number of issues related to the constitution-making process. It is also regrettable that since the breakdown of the negotiations this year the violence that followed has prevented further progress towards a peaceful settlement.

The recurring violence in South Africa has remained the major concern of the international community. In spite of the National Peace Accord, signed on 14 September 1991 between a number of parties including the South African Government, violence continues unabated in the black townships. During the past year violence reached unprecedented and dramatic levels. Particularly abhorrent were the Boipatong massacre on the night of 17 June 1992 and the Ciskei massacre of 7 September 1992.

A few days after the Boipatong massacre, the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress (ANC) held an emergency meeting at the end of which it decided to suspend bilateral talks with the Government as well as its participation in CODESA negotiations. The violence that has taken place has thus had a negative effect on the efforts to find a peaceful political settlement to South Africa's problems.

We do not condone violence by any group or entity in South Africa. However, we must emphasize that the primary responsibility in maintaining law and order and creating an atmosphere conducive to negotiations lies with the South African Government.

We urge the South African authorities to execute fully and impartially the primary responsibility of the Government to bring an end to the violence. We urge the signatories to the National Peace Accord to recommit themselves to the process of peaceful change by fully and effectively implementing its provisions. We also urge the representatives of the people in South Africa to

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resume without delay the negotiations for transitional arrangements and the reaching of an agreement on a new Constitution.

We welcome the decisions taken by the Security Council this year to assist in bringing an effective end to the violence and to create conditions for the resumption of the multilateral negotiations. We are deeply appreciative of the strenuous efforts made by the Secretary-General throughout the year to promote the negotiating process and to end the violence that is taking place. Through the visits to South Africa of Special Representative Mr. Cyrus Vance and Special Envoy Mr. Virendra Dayal, the Secretary-General has been able to get a clearer picture of what is happening in South Africa. United Nations observers have been deployed to observe the mass action organized by the ANC as well as to contribute to the peace process. This they have done in close cooperation with observers from the Commonwealth and the European Community as well as the Organization of African Unity (OAU).

It is imperative that the international community reaffirm its support for the legitimate struggle of the South African people for the total eradication of apartheid by peaceful means. This is evidently the desire of all the people of South Africa.

In this connection, it was heartening to note the results of the vote by the white electorate, through a referendum, on the constitutional reforms introduced over the past two years. It is significant that the overwhelming majority of white South Africans supported the process of negotiations.

The establishment of a non-racial democratic society in South Africa will not be complete if the socio-economic imbalances which have resulted from the long practice of the institutionalized system of apartheid are not addressed urgently. The development process that has to be undertaken on the attendant

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socio-economic problems created by apartheid must involve all South African people.

Needless to say, such efforts would require the assistance of the international community, particularly in the areas of human resource development, employment and housing. We trust that the international community will respond appropriately to the needs of new South Africa to establish an equitable socio-economic framework which could be shared by all South Africans, so that peace and democracy will endure in the post-apartheid South Africa.

(Mr. Kalpagé, Sri Lanka)

Responsibility for achieving the total eradication of apartheid and the establishment of a non-racial, democratic South Africa through negotiation must rest with the South Africans themselves. It is my delegation's hope that at this stage, when the goals that the United Nations set for itself in the 1989 Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa are about to be realized, South Africans of all races and political persuasions will join in a genuine effort to achieve these goals through negotiations.

Mr. MOTHIBAMELE (Botswana): The past two years brought high expectations that the South African situation was finally developing for the better, but recent developments, particularly the issues of violence and the impasse in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) talks, have dampened our hopes. Our expectations and hopes were not unfounded: we saw a number of positive measures taken by the de Klerk Government. We saw the release of Mr. Nelson Mandela and the other political prisoners; the unbanning of the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania and other political organisations; the repeal and review of the major apartheid laws; and, more importantly, the start of talks between the Government and black people under the banner of CODESA.

After these developments and two years of waiting, however, nothing much has changed. South Africa has remained the same. The thirst for democracy has still not been quenched. The people still live under the same old oppressive system of apartheid. The question is, how much longer should we expect this inhumane and oppressive system to continue? The General Assembly has categorically declared apartheid a crime against humanity; indeed it is and it should be condemned as such by all.

(Mr. Mothibamele, Botswana)

In this new order of world affairs where there are no ideological conflicts, where there is no competition for spheres of influence, the whole international community must spare no effort in putting pressure on the South African authorities to end apartheid. The United Nations should indeed reaffirm its support for the legitimate struggle of the South African people for the total eradication of apartheid. It is for the United Nations, with the help of the diplomatic efforts of the individual Member States, to demand the establishment of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa where all will enjoy the same fundamental human rights and freedoms.

My delegation is saddened by the escalation of violence in South Africa. A day never passes without reports of deaths resulting from the incidents of violence. The statistics are very alarming: only last week we heard about nine people killed, and all of them members of the same family. Violence even follows people to the cemeteries, something unthinkable in a normal African society.

The brutality is senseless, to say the least. It is to be condemned. Violence should not be allowed to become a way of life: concerted efforts should be made to bring it to an end before it becomes part of the political culture.

It is not the duty of my delegation to apportion blame for the violence in South Africa. We call upon all South Africans, irrespective of race, colour, sex or creed, to work together to bring an end to the violence. We do, however, wish to question the sincerity of the Government, which we all know is responsible for the maintenance of law and order: why the seeming paralysis on the part of the South African police? The Goldstone Commission has accused the South African police of inadequate investigations and

(Mr. Mothibamele, Botswana)

evidence-gathering. This is, to say the least, shameful on the part of the biggest and well-equipped police force in the continent of Africa. We know the South African police can do better.

My delegation is gratified by the constructive contribution of the international community in monitoring the violence in South Africa. We commend the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity and other international bodies for their efforts and assistance in this regard. Given the prevailing situation, it would have been desirable to have more observers deployed than the numbers currently in place. We hope the numbers will be reviewed with a view to increasing them so that they are commensurate with the task before them.

We are encouraged by reports that talks towards establishing a new constitution and a democratic order in South Africa are likely to resume soon. We call on all the leaders in South Africa to resume the negotiations in good faith and with honest intentions.

Mr. ABDUL GHAFFAR (Bahrain) (interpretation from Arabic): Over the past four decades, since the inscription of the item relating to the question of apartheid on the agenda of the seventh session of the General Assembly, in 1952, the international community has spared no effort in working for the elimination of the policy of apartheid in South Africa through the adoption of numerous, successive United Nations resolutions.

Today, after all those decades, there appear on the horizon positive signs, namely the repeal by the Government of South African of the basic laws that constituted the underpinnings of the apartheid system and the tendency to negotiate with the leaders of the black majority towards the establishment of a non-racial South Africa.

(Mr. Abdul-Ghaffar, Bahrain)

The repeal since 1991 of the major apartheid laws was in itself, a positive development. It included the major laws that institutionalized apartheid, such as the Population Registration Act which classified the population on a racial basis, the Land Act and related laws.

Needless to say, these encouraging reforms introduced by the Government of South Africa, and the subsequent optimism that was generated by the holding of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) I and II, which aimed at drawing up a constitution for South Africa, have been good omens that indicated the adoption of the right approach which may lead to the achievement of the objectives of the international community.

However, the realities of the situation indicate that the need is still there for the complete elimination of all aspects of the apartheid system and the introduction of substantive reforms, if the people of South Africa is to establish a non-racial State. This can be achieved only through a concerted effort by the international community to help the parties achieve a just solution that would be acceptable to all.

The Secretary-General of the United Nations in his comments in document A/47/574 refers to the meeting between President de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela on 26 September 1992 which he describes as an important step forward towards breaking the CODESA II deadlock. The Secretary-General considered the resultant agreements to be a most welcome development which should provide a basis for moving the negotiating process forward.

While deriving optimism from the endeavours of all parties toward national reconciliation and the establishment of a non-racial South Africa, there is still reason for grave concern over the fact that the spread of political violence in the past few months could undermine the process of

(Mr. Abdul-Ghaffar, Bahrain)

negotiation between the parties. The events of those past few months have resulted in the death of hundreds and the displacement of thousands of civilians, and, thereby, have created a grave obstacle to negotiation, dialogue and national reconciliation.

It is our considered opinion that the violence will be curbed only through the acceleration of the implementation of cultural, social, economic and political reforms in South Africa and the eradication of the remaining policies of apartheid.

In conclusion, I should like to affirm our support for the efforts of the United Nations, especially those of the Security Council which has adopted two important resolutions on South Africa this year, namely 765 (1992) and 772 (1992). We also support the efforts of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and the repeated visits by United Nations staff to South Africa with the purpose of helping in finding solutions and recommending measures that would lead to putting an end to the acts of violence and create the appropriate circumstances for the resumption of negotiations in order to transform South Africa into a non-racial united State. To this end, historic responsibility dictates that all political parties should eschew acts of violence such as the massacre perpetrated at Boipatong on 17 June 1992 and the tragedy that took place in Ciskei on 7 September 1992 and lead to the escalation of violence.

Mr. AWOONOR (Ghana): In the three years since it adopted the Declaration against apartheid, the United Nations has continued to play an important role in efforts towards the abolition of this system once and for all. The Government and people of Ghana pay high tribute to this world body, recognizing that it is the only outside body which could help bring apartheid to its knees and has the will and the determination to do so.

My delegation commends the Secretary-General for his speedy and timely intervention in South Africa in June this year, when that country was engulfed in new violence. We also endorse Security Council resolution 772 (1992) and the deployment of a United Nations monitoring team in South Africa.

A nod of appreciation also goes to the Special Committee against Apartheid under its energetic Chairman, Ambassador Gambari of Nigeria, for its very comprehensive and informative report for the year 1992 and the valuable contributions it has made over the years to the struggle against apartheid. The diligent support provided by the Centre against Apartheid to the international community's crusade against apartheid also deserves our commendation. The delegation of Ghana welcomes the report of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) Fact-Finding Mission of Experts which visited South Africa from 14 September to 3 October 1992.

Apartheid, as we all know, divides people, incites hatred and inflicts cruelty on the innocent. It breeds violence and can indeed only be sustained through violence. The world community had hoped that the signing of the National Peace Accord in September 1991 and the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) would contribute to the introduction of profound and irreversible changes in South Africa.

(Mr. Awoonor, Ghana)

But the breakdown of the second plenary session of CODESA, the recurrence of violence such as firing by the South African police at residents of the Ennerdale Community; the gang attacks on commuter trains resulting in numerous deaths of innocent people; the politically motivated killings of whole families; the bombing of schools, post offices and offices of political organizations; the massacres at Boipatong, Slovo, Bisho and Ciskei and the failure of the racist regime to deal effectively with the allegations of the involvement of the police and members of the security forces in these acts of violence; and the presence of foreign mercenary groups in South Africa can only lead to suspicions of the de Klerk administration's political bias and its complicity in prolonging violence in that country. It was established very recently that a conspiracy exists among the highest-ranking officers of the South African Defence Forces to destabilize and even destroy the African National Congress (ANC).

All these factors pose serious dangers to free political activity and the very fragile process of change that is under way. It is important that effective steps be taken to overcome these threats so as to ensure that the agreement reached by the ANC and the Government to resume bilateral discussions on constitutional issues will ultimately lead to a broad-based framework for multilateral negotiations for the establishment of an interim government of transitional authority and also result in the evolution of modalities for an elected constituent assembly which would draw up a new constitution for a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

It will be recalled that the United Nations Declaration of 14 December 1989 placed a heavy emphasis on the need for the regime to carry out specific measures in order to create a climate conducive to negotiations.

(Mr. Awoonor, Ghana)

These measures included the release of political prisoners and the repeal of legislation designed to circumscribe free political activity.

Though the South African authorities in September 1992 released 150 political prisoners, it is regrettable to note that the fundamental objective visualized in the United Nations Declaration, that is, the transformation of South Africa into a united, democratic and non-racial country, is still not within reach.

(Mr. Awoonor, Ghana)

Though the ultimate solution of the South African problem is the primary responsibility of the South Africans themselves, my delegation believes that the international community still has a critical role to play in ensuring that rapid progress is made towards attaining the objectives of that Declaration.

It is also important that the international community maintain existing measures against apartheid. The Ghana delegation shares the view, expressed in the report of the Special Committee against Apartheid, that international restrictions in the fields of trade and investment should be upheld until the establishment in South Africa of clear and undisputed transitional arrangements that inspire international confidence. Financial sanctions must remain until a transitional authority requests their removal. The oil embargo and arms restrictions imposed by the Security Council should be lifted only at the final stage of the transition process in South Africa, when a new constitution is adopted and a democratically elected Government installed.

It is becoming clear that the international community relaxed its pressure on the racist regime far too early - with some of us using very self-serving arguments - and without taking due account of the warnings from the democratic forces within the country and also from some of us in the United Nations. We were even lectured not to use the word "regime" in referring to the racist obscenity. It should, however, be made clear to the racist Government that the programmed-management approach to the lifting of sanctions is intended as a reaction to measures it takes for the total elimination of apartheid. It should be stressed in this regard that even the people-to-people sanctions will be reimposed if the Government does not abandon its stalling of the peace process.

(Mr. Awoonor, Ghana)

To promote the process of democratic transformation in South Africa the international community must continue to adopt the two-pronged approach of exerting pressure on South Africa and simultaneously providing assistance to the democratic forces in that country. The increase in assistance is particularly important in enhancing the strength and capabilities of these democratic forces during the negotiating process. This assistance should also promote the reintegration of returning political refugees, exiles and released political prisoners, as well as the preparation of programmes for the development of the hitherto disadvantaged segments of the population of South Africa. Such programmes should specifically focus on education, training, health and housing, so that when the process of transition begins the new democratic Government will have adequate manpower resources to implement its policies.

The socio-economic inequalities that derive from the long years of apartheid continue to plague the black community, who constitute the majority of the South African population. They threaten to undermine peaceful and stable development through the transition period and beyond. It is therefore important that States Members of the United Nations and the international community continue to discharge their obligation to support in all ways possible the eradication of these inequalities and to ensure that the peace process remains on course. It is equally important to remind the South African Government to endeavour to take steps to correct these socio-economic inequalities.

The struggle for the establishment of a united, democratic and non-racial Government in South Africa has entered its most crucial and difficult stage.

(Mr. Awoonor, Ghana)

It is therefore important to remind the liberation movements and other progressive forces to get together within the framework of a united front of the oppressed people with a view to setting up a broad agenda of common understanding to ensure a concerted approach towards the negotiating process. As for those outside South Africa who actually believe that apartheid is over and are poised to rush in to reap the benefit of the years of struggle by the African people, we say that it is not as simple as that. Until the non-racial constitution is in place no investment in South Africa will be safe.

Allow me, in conclusion, to express the hope that at the current General Assembly session the international community will encourage understanding and dialogue between all political forces, including the Government of South Africa, with a view to speeding up the negotiation process and helping to usher in the new era in South Africa for which many, many have died.

Mr. PERKINS (United States of America): This year's debate on South Africa comes at a time of deep concern over the seemingly stalled negotiating process, continuing widespread violence and the deterioration of the country's economy. As we and others have repeatedly noted in this forum, a negotiated political settlement is the single most important enabling step in addressing South Africa's social and economic problems. It is time for all parties in South Africa to set aside partisan objectives and to show the statesmanship needed to reverse the country's deteriorating situation. The stakes are nothing less than South Africa's chance for post-apartheid success.

Economic deterioration is another compelling reason for South Africa's leaders to move with greater urgency on a political settlement. Left to continue, this deterioration will deprive any new non-racial Government of the

(Mr. Perkins, United States)

resources essential to meeting the challenge of reinvigorating and reforming the country's economy. We look forward to a plan of action on economic acceleration in tandem with political talks.

Against this disturbing backdrop, we believe that it is absolutely vital that South Africans themselves take immediate and important steps to reduce dramatically the widespread violence; revive the negotiating process; move as quickly as possible into a transition phase in which power-sharing is a key principle of governance; and think of the innovation needed to revive and develop an economy that promises to be one of the world's greatest.

When the parties increase their consideration of these difficult issues they will do so with considerable common ground already achieved. The parties to the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) negotiations all agreed on certain fundamental elements of a new constitution, including an entrenched bill of rights and a bicameral legislature elected by proportional representation. All parties have accepted the concept, as outlined in the 1989 United Nations Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa,

> "that all men and women have the right and duty to participate in their own government, as equal members of society, and that no individual or group of individuals has any right to govern others without their democratic consent". (resolution S-16/1, annex, p. 2)

The parties remain convinced that negotiations offer the only viable means for South Africa's peaceful transition to non-racial democracy. We agree. The parties realize that there can be no return to the repression of the apartheid era and that armed revolution does not offer an alternative path to democracy. Again we agree. At this difficult time in South Africa the

(Mr. Perkins, United States)

international community is prepared to support and assist in achieving the basic steps needed to restore peace and economic recovery to South Africa while - just as important - laying the foundation for a non-racial democracy.

We are pleased that all South Africans have welcomed the important role played by the United Nations in South Africa. I would particularly note the active participation of the Secretary-General, as seen in his request for the convening of the special Security Council session on South Africa in July, Special Envoy Cyrus Vance's investigatory visit to South Africa in the same month and the deployment of United Nations observers to South Africa in September. The United Nations observers have already helped avoid some violent incidents and contributed to peace in South Africa by bringing the moral authority of the United Nations to that country.

(Mr. Perkins, United States)

We hope that the General Assembly can exhibit a cooperative and constructive spirit in the discussions which we hope will lead to the adoption by consensus of this year's draft resolution on South Africa. I am confident that this increasingly constructive international climate will play an important part in emboldening the South African parties to drive the process of change forward to success.

I would like to call particular attention to the key role Ambassador Gambari continues to play in promoting this good climate. As has been the case in the past, Ambassador Gambari's even-handedness and no-nonsense approach has been instrumental in developing a unified international approach on this issue. We hope that the result of these efforts will be a balanced, constructive omnibus draft resolution which moves beyond rhetoric and instead cogently highlights what has already been achieved as well as how much still has to be accomplished. More importantly, the draft resolution could become an agent for positive change.

We all recognize that South Africa faces considerable problems. Nevertheless, this draft resolution should be one of good will, hope and support for the nations of the world. When the United Nations Declaration on apartheid was adopted in 1989 it would have seemed wildly optimistic to predict that within only three years full-scale negotiations would have taken place and the legal underpinnings of apartheid would be removed. The transition process may have slowed, but it is likely that well within the next several years the majority of South Africans, long deprived of a political voice, will be represented by a Government they have freely chosen. The United States joins the international community in its commitment to that goal.

Mr. GALAL (Egypt) (interpretation from Arabic): We meet today to assess the progress made in the implementation of the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa which, when it was adopted unanimously on 14 December 1989, marked the culmination of the work of the sixteenth special session of the General Assembly. Thus, our starting point and yardstick must be the contents of that Declaration, which gave voice to the international community's genuine will, principles, objectives and guidelines for the negotiating process, as well as its mandatory programme of action for the elimination of the system of apartheid.

The United Nations Declaration was adopted three years ago. Enough time has passed for us to evaluate the situation and to determine what has been achieved and what remains to be done to meet the desired objective which may be summed up as follows.

First, South Africa must become a united, democratic and non-racial State. Secondly, all its people must enjoy the rights of citizenship on an equal footing, regardless of race, colour, sex or creed. Thirdly, all its people must have the right to participate in the Government and conduct of the country's affairs on the basis of equal, universal sufferage within a non-racial register of voters and through secret balloting. Fourthly, all its citizens must enjoy universally recognized civil and political freedoms. Fifthly, South Africa must have a legal system that ensures equality for all before the law through an independent and non-racial judicial system.

To bring about the transition from the odious system of apartheid to a stage of negotiation that would aim at achieving those goals requires a number of confidence-building measures that may create the necessary climate for the successful negotiation. Fairness and objectivity lead us to state that Mr. de Klerk, having realized it is impossible for the system of apartheid to

(Mr. Galal, Egypt)

survive as it is diametrically opposed to the spirit of the age has proceeded to remedy the mistakes of the past with noteworthy courage. The repeal of the basic laws that constituted the underpinnings of apartheid, the release of political prisoners, the return of most of the exiled, the unbanning of the anti-apartheid political organizations, and the lifting of the state of emergency in most parts of South Africa were all steps in the right direction. They did pave the way towards the initiation of negotiations between all parties at the beginning of 1992.

This year has witnessed several events that went hand in hand with the stage of transition in South Africa. There is no doubt that some of those developments are of a positive nature. Under this heading we mention the initiation of negotiations through the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA), the release of political prisoners, and the results of the March 1992 referendum, in which the white minority supported President de Klerk's position on continuing to negotiate the eradication of apartheid, as well as on the opening of dialogue between the Government and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania last October in the capital of Botswana. The result of the referendum also supported the meeting between President de Klerk and Mr. Nelson Mandela on 26 September to discuss the resumption of negotiations which were suspended last June as well as the resulting agreements on a large number of important political and security issues, and the holding of the meetings scheduled to take place before the end of this month. All this gives us hope that noticeable progress will be made. No doubt, the role played by Mr. Mandela in all this has been a positive one that deserves our praise and support.

(Mr. Galal, Egypt)

Having said this, we must deal with the main obstacle to the achievement of the desired progress - the violence that has claimed the lives of thousands of South Africa and culminated in the Boipatong massacre which led to the convening of the Security Council in July and its adoption of resolutions 765 (1992) and 772 (1992), as well as the dispatch of 50 observers from the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity, the Commonwealth, and the European Community to monitor the acts of violence and establish the mechanisms for preventing such violence.

In this context, Egypt calls upon all groups and political forces in South Africa, and in particular the Government of South Africa, which bears the primary responsibility for the maintenance of law and order and the protection of the country's citizens, to refrain from any action that could result in increased tension in the country and to seek the resumption of negotiations in order to arrive at an agreement on future arrangements, regarding the transitional authority and future elections for a new, non-racial constituent assembly. It also calls upon them to set up mechanisms for the elaboration of the new democratic constitution which would ensure the right of all to equal participation regardless of colour or ethnic origin.

(Mr. Galal, Egypt)

In this connection, we urge the parties that have not participated so far in the work of CODESA to take part in the neogitating process in order to ensure the elaboration of a new social and political contract that would encompass everyone without exception.

I reiterate Egypt's support for the role played by the international community and the United Nations and in particular by the Secretary-General, the specialized agencies and the Special Committee against Apartheid, in monitoring events in South Africa and in encouraging all the parties concerned to put an end to the violence and to put forth democratic proposals that would contribute to the emergence of a new, united, non-racial South Africa.

It is only fair to note that the situation on the ground, now, though grave and sensitive, reflects tangible progress compared to the situation that existed when the General Assembly adopted the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa.

We sincerely hope that the coming year will witness decisive developments towards the implementation of the Declaration, especially with regard to the holding of a general election with a view to enabling the majority of the populace to play its natural role in managing the affairs of the country in a democratic context, on the basis of respect for human rights and the principles of freedom and justice as enshrined in international norms and conventions.

The delegation of Egypt hopes that the draft resolution on this item will be adopted unanimously. We believe that a commitment by all parties to its implementation will contribute decisively to putting a peaceful end to the system of apartheid, thus ending a tragic chapter in the history of South Africa and helping it through the phase of transformation towards a democratic and non-racial society.

Mr. RICHARDSON (United Kingdom): I have the honour to speak on behalf of the European Community and its Member States.

Those who recall last year's debate will remember the sense of hope and opportunity which accompanied the launching of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA), which took place in that same week. The European Community and its member States then noted the moment of historic opportunity offered by the opening of peaceful negotiations. Mr. Nelson Mandela and many others had been released from detention; the state of emergency had been lifted; the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) had announced its decision to suspend the armed struggle; and the South African Government's repeal of apartheid legislation in June 1991, together with other measures, clearly heralded the end of apartheid. The international community warmly encouraged those developments.

For years the European Community and its member States have called for the immediate and total abolition of apartheid through peaceful means, convinced that the vicious cycle of repression and violence could only be broken through constructive dialogue and negotiation. With the signing of the National Peace Accord in September 1991, it seemed South Africa was finally on its way to achieving that breakthrough.

It is worth recalling, in the more sober mood of this year's debate, the enormous progress of that year, and the support of us all for the negotiating process. Last year's achievements, as well as the problems, remain impressive, and there has been considerable progress since last year's debate. In March the European Community and its member States welcomed the outcome of the referendum held in South Africa, which allowed the determined

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pursuit of the democratization process initiated more than two years ago. They noted that the outcome of the referendum and the responsible attitude of all sections of the population during the campaign and the ballot clearly demonstrated the commitment of the South African people to the transformation process under way in their country, and they expressed confidence that all South Africans would be involved in future consultations.

And on 26 September, following agreement between the South African Government and the ANC, 150 political prisoners were released. Since then more releases have taken place, and the remainder are being agreed between the two parties. This significant agreement removed one of the major obstacles to peaceful progress highlighted in last year's debate.

The European Community and its member States continue to attach importance to the Community's special programme for the victims of apartheid. This is now the European Community's largest national aid programme; this year's 80 million ECU is a substantial increase over the 60 million allocated last year.

However, those here today, and those living inside South Africa, do not need to be reminded of the continued and escalating violence which continues to threaten such progress, and which daily undermines the search for peaceful change.

The European Community and its member States have expressed their shock at appalling incidents of violence, particularly in Boipatong and Ciskei. They call on all parties concerned fully to respect their commitments under the National Peace Accord. They urge the South African Government to

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investigate these incidents rapidly and thoroughly, so that those responsible are punished, and note the Government's commitment to do so. They also call upon the leaders of all parties concerned in South Africa to persevere with determination in the peaceful path to a non-racial democracy, representative of all South Africans, initiated in the framework of CODESA.

In June the European Council, meeting in Lisbon, expressed its deep concern over violence. It also noted that the South African Government had stated its readiness to allow foreign observers to participate in the investigation into the Boipatong massacre, and stressed the absolute need to ensure effective control of the police and security forces. The Council called on all parties to resume negotiations in the framework of CODESA in order to ensure a peaceful transition towards a truly democratic and non-racial South Africa, in particular by the establishment of a transitional government. They considered it vital that South Africa should not lose the substantial progress already made in that forum.

In early September a Troika of European Community Foreign Ministers and the Vice-President of the Commission visited South Africa, to help the search for a reduction of violence and promote the resumption of the negotiating process, mindful that it was for South Africans themselves to resolve these linked problems. They discussed with their interlocutors how the European Community could offer practical help. As a result, European Community observers have now been deployed in coordination with others appointed by the United Nations and other organizations, and with the structures set up under

(Mr. Richardson, United Kingdom)

the National Peace Accord, as envisaged in Security Council resolution 772 (1992). Six additional European Community experts are now working with Judge Goldstone and his Commission, which is making a crucial contribution to tackling violence.

The Troika also made clear their willingness to help in the field of police training, with the object of helping to implement the Peace Accord. All sides welcomed our offer in principle. The timing of such help will require further discussion with the parties once specific proposals are received.

The European Community and its member States remain convinced that the obstacles to the resumption of the negotiating process are much less significant than the shared interest of all South Africans in a negotiated political settlement. Violence and the threat of violence remain among the most serious obstacles to progress towards that political settlement. The European Community and its member States believe that the South African Government should rapidly and decisively implement its commitments to control violence, to ban all dangerous weapons, to deal effectively with the problems posed by the township hostels and to convert the police from a force whose job it is to root out the enemies of apartheid to a force for the protection of the citizen.

(Mr. Richardson, United Kingdom)

At the same time all other parties should take immediate steps to curb violence by their supporters, and to ensure effective implementation of the National Peace Accord. Firm leadership from all concerned is now essential if South Africa is to save itself from a future of strife and poverty.

We know that the concern of the European Community and its member States to help end the violence and to support peaceful change is fully shared by the United Nations, and I take this opportunity to thank Ambassador Gambari for his valuable contribution to this debate. We have welcomed Security Council resolution 765 (1992), in which the Secretary-General is invited to appoint a Special Representative; the Secretary-General's impressive report of 7 August (S/24389); and Security Council resolution 772 (1992), which authorized the sending of observers. Good and close cooperation has already developed on the ground between the teams of United Nations and European Community observers and we look forward to working constructively alongside them and with colleagues from the Commonwealth and the OAU. The international observers seek, by their presence in situations of potential conflict, to prevent violence, defuse tension and promote peace.

All our efforts here should be aimed at strengthening the prospects for peaceful negotiation in South Africa. We must offer no comfort whatsoever to those who persist in pursuing violence as an alternative. Time is not on South Africa's side. While the parties manoeuvre for advantage, the country's economy and society are running rapidly downhill. We urge all the representatives of the people of South Africa to resume, without delay, broad-based negotiations on transitional arrangements, in particular, the establishment of a transitional government, and basic principles for a process

(Mr. Richardson, United Kingdom)

of reaching agreement on a new, democratic and non-racial constitution. This is for South Africans to accomplish but the European Community and its Member States remain ready to help. Europe retains an enormous interest in a successful transition to a stable, democratic, united and non-racial South Africa on the road to prosperity.

Mr. CHIARADIA (Argentina) (interpretation from Spanish): The process of eradicating apartheid and establishing a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa, which has been called for over and over again by this General Assembly and the other relevant organs of the United Nations, is passing through a critical stage. Many steps have been taken so far in the right direction and much progress has been achieved in the effort to build a new South Africa. None the less, as is often the case in a process of change, it is the last stages that require the greatest commitment and imagination and that really test the political will of the parties involved.

We welcome the actions of the groups that are most representative of South African political life, which have made it possible for progress to be0achieved in that country and, in this respect, we recognize that the structures and objectives laid down under the National Peace Accord constitute an important foundation for building peace in South Africa. We also welcome the historic agreement reached on 26 September between the government of President de Klerk and the President of the African National Congress (ANC), Mr. Nelson Mandela, which laid the groundwork for the resumption of negotiations, and we place great hopes on the next round of bilateral talks, which will take place on 22 November.

In this connection we urge all parties involved to cooperate, with a view

(Mr. Chiaradia, Argentina)

to the resumption of broad negotiations on transitional arrangements and basic principles for a process the main objective of which should be agreement on a new, democratic and non-racial constitution, and on its early entry into force. All of this is part of the final goal of bringing about the complete elimination of apartheid. In order to reach that goal, South African society as a whole must understand that in the eyes of the international community there is no alternative to negotiation. The elimination of violence is one of the most important aspects of the process. This was the understanding of the Security Council when, concerned at the growing violence and at the existence of obstacles to the resumption of the negotiation process, it adopted resolutions 765 (1992) and 772 (1992), which contained a number of measures for dealing with the situation, in coordination with the arrangements set up in the National Peace Accord.

Of course, the Republic of Argentina emphatically supports the action of the Security Council, along with the efforts made to the same end by the Goldstone Commission and the observers sent by the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the European Community and the British Commonwealth. In the same way as we have already expressed our concern at the escalation of violence to the Government of South Africa and the ANC, and have urged all the parties to commit themseleves to bring an end to such violence, we would also like to reiterate that concern now and encourage the South African authorities to take all measures necessary to eliminate the violence, and we urge all parties to refrain from acts of violence and to cooperate in quelling it.

My Government is following with particular interest the turn of events in South Africa because of our commitment to the eradication of apartheid,

(Mr. Chiaradia, Argentina)

because we want to see South Africa completely integrated into the international community, and because we share a geographical region with that country, namely the South Atlantic region. As a member of the zone of peace and cooperation of the South Atlantic, the Republic of Argentina is confident that all the parties involved in the process that is going on in South Africa will continue to show political maturity and political will in order to find new and just institutional forms that will permit the southern part of the continent to be integrated into the zone of peace and cooperation.

The Government of Argentina, aware of the changes that South Africa is going through, hopes for a visit from Mr. Mandela, President of the ANC, whenever he deems appropriate, and an invitation to that effect has already been extended to him.

I repeat our most energetic condemnation of the policy of apartheid and my Government's solidarity with its victims. In this, we are only being consistent with the basic principles on which the Republic of Argentina was founded. We hope that, in response to the desires of the majority of the South African people and the repeated appeals of the international community, we will soon enjoy the participation here of a non-racial, democratic and united South Africa.

The PRESIDENT: In accordance with the decision taken by the General Assembly at its 3rd plenary meeting, on 18 September 1992, I now call on the representative of the African National Congress of South Africa.

Mr. MBEKI (African National Congress of South Africa (ANC)): First of all, and on behalf of the ANC, we take this opportunity to thank you most sincerely for giving us the opportunity to address the General Assembly as it discusses the question of South Africa. We are honoured that you have allowed us to intervene at this relatively early stage of the debate and fully appreciate the significance of the privilege you have granted us.

As an organization, we are deeply conscious of the desire of the United Nations and the international community as a whole to see a speedy end to the system of apartheid. We wish to assure you that we are at one with the Assembly in seeking the earliest possible transformation of South Africa into a non-racial democracy.

Consequently we are exerting every effort to ensure that a sense of urgency instructs the manner in which we and all other parties in our country approach the process of change. Furthermore, we are of the same mind with all the Member States represented here that, as the people of South Africa, we have the duty and the possibility to arrive at a resolution of the South African question through negotiations and by peaceful means.

Again, we would like to assure you that the ANC is doing all it can to facilitate that process of negotiations and to create the climate of peace that is critical to the concentration of energies on the central task of ending the apartheid crime against humanity and transforming South Africa into a united, democratic, non-racial and non-sexist country.

The General Assembly may wish to take what we have just said as given. If this is the case, it creates the circumstances that impose an obligation on

(Mr. Mbeki, ANC)

the United Nations and on this Assembly to determine what they have to do with regard to a number of issues: first, ensuring the transformation of South Africa into a united, democratic and non-racial country, in keeping with previous decisions of both the General Assembly and the Security Council; second, ensuring that this takes place without undue delay; third, ensuring that, for these purposes, transitional arrangements are entered into and a new constitution adopted, consonant with the provisions of the 1989 General Assembly consensus "Declaration on Apartheid and Its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa" and other relevant decisions of this Organization; fourth, ensuring that these objectives are achieved through negotiations, in a climate conducive to free political activity and in conditions of peace; fifth, ensuring that any party that wilfully opposes these processes draws the censure of and isolation by the international community; sixth, ensuring that the United Nations participates actively in helping to create the necessary climate for all South Africans to engage in free and peaceful political activity; seventh, ensuring that it places itself in a position such that it can assist the people of South Africa to reconstruct their society in keeping with the objectives visualized in both the Universal Declaration on Human Rights and the Charter of the United Nations; eighth, ensuring that the Organization maintains all existing pressures, with any varying of the status quo taking place in tandem with actual progress achieved within South Africa; and ninth, ensuring that it continues to extend assistance to the democratic forces of our country, understanding that these forces have a national role of bringing the majority into the overall peace process, a task that extends beyond the immediate partisan concerns of these forces.

(Mr. Mbeki, ANC)

We believe that it is important that the General Assembly should take the necessary decisions that will enable it and this Organization to act on all these matters during the period between now and when the forty-eighth session of the Assembly convenes next year. We would like to emphasize that, within the coming months, the United Nations will need to act on various matters with regard to South Africa. These matters, including the election of a constituent assembly on the basis of universal suffrage and the formation of a representative interim Government of national unity, will be of such decisive importance that they should, for the first time in over 40 years, result in taking the issue of apartheid off the agenda of this Organization and replacing it with an item relating to the equally important question of the democratic transformation of South Africa.

We believe that the Assembly, as part of its contribution to the success of the process of ending the system of white minority rule, should continue to express its support for the early resumption of the work of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) as a multilateral negotiations forum, inclusive of all political organizations in South Africa. The resumed discussions should build on the agreements that have already been arrived at, which include decisions to elect a constitution-making body and to form an interim Government of national unity, preceded by the establishment of multi-party organs of government which will ensure that the elections are held in conditions of peace and are free and fair, as well as decisions to reincorporate the bantustans into one South Africa.

For the success of these processes, it is critically important that the issue of violence should be addressed effectively. We believe that the Assembly should commend the Secretary-General for his actions in this regard, as well as the Security Council for its decisions to intervene in this matter,

(Mr. Mbeki, ANC)

as reflected in its resolutions 765 (1992) and 772 (1992). The situation in South Africa requires, however, that these resolutions, especially resolution 772, should be implemented in full as speedily as possible. This is emphasized by the latest revelations, which confirm what we have said in the past: that the apartheid security forces are engaged in the violence which continues to plague our country and are being used to weaken, destabilize and undermine the ANC and other democratic forces.

In this regard, I should say that there are indications that the South African Government will be saying something soon to commit itself to support of the work of the Goldstone Commission and making an undertaking to implement the recommendations that come out of that Commission. We hope that that will happen.

The investigation of the apartheid security forces, with a view to ensuring that they stop such criminal activities, is one of the areas in which the United Nations has to be involved. Justice Goldstone, Chairman of the Commission of Inquiry regarding the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation, has already called on the international community to assist in "the speedy and efficient execution" of that task.

We believe that, in keeping with the Security Council resolutions to which we have referred, the United Nations should respond speedily to the call issued by Justice Goldstone. As Goldstone himself observes,

> "no successful and constructive multi-party negotiations are likely to be held in the present climate of mutual suspicion and distrust. It is highly unlikely that free and fair elections could be held in the present climate of violence and intimidation. No investment will take place in South Africa until a democratic and peaceful climate has been created."

(Mr. Mbeki, ANC)

We believe that by its timely and decisive interventions this Organization can help us to address all these issues.

We also believe that a clear call should issue from this Assembly directed at the South African Government, demanding of it that it discharge its responsibilities to put an end to the violence and to act against those of its security forces that are involved in the violence.

This call should also demand of the regime that it do everything necessary to help create the climate needed for free political activity in all parts of South Africa, including the bantustans and the so-called homelands. This must include a cessation of all the covert activities of its forces and, as we have said in the past, the disarming and confinement to barracks of all special forces.

We further believe that an unequivocal message should reach Pretoria that the international community will not countenance any attempts by the Pretoria regime to perpetuate itself in power and thus prolong the agony of apartheid.

Comments recently attributed to Mr. de Klerk by a British newspaper give serious cause for concern with regard to this matter, obliging us to issue a public statement rejecting the notion that the present ruling party, as suggested by Mr. de Klerk, can stay in power beyond the year 1995. I should say in this regard that I also understand that President de Klerk is likely to be issuing a statement soon in order to clarify this point, committing the South African Government to speedy movement forward in terms of agreements that had been reached in the negotiation process.

The elections for a constituent assembly and an interim government should

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take place before the end of the coming year. We are convinced that the Organization has an important role to play in terms of helping to ensure that the elections are free and fair, and that all parties involved respect both the process and the outcome of the elections. Accordingly, we believe that the Assembly should take the necessary decisions enabling the Organization to play such a role as may be required of it in order to achieve these results.

The programme of work facing the United Nations with regard to the South African question, including the work of reconstruction that will arise in future once sanctions are lifted, emphasizes the continuing importance of such United Nations bodies as the Centre Against Apartheid and the Special Committee against Apartheid. We trust that the Assembly will continue to extend its full support to these bodies so that they can discharge their responsibilities in the context of the evolving situation in South Africa.

We are also concerned that the peace processes in Angola and Mozambique should succeed as quickly as possible, as part of the common effort to bring peace, stability and prosperity to all the peoples of southern Africa. We therefore urge the Organization to do everything possible and necessary to ensure that UNITA abides by the Angola peace accords and respects the electoral process, which is being carried out as envisaged in those accords. The resort to arms against this democratic process should not be allowed.

Similarly, all necessary measures need to be taken so as to ensure that the agreements concerning Mozambique are honoured by all concerned, including RENAMO. This is in the interests not only of the long-suffering people of Mozambique but also of the region as a whole, including South Africa.

(Mr. Mbeki, ANC)

We would also like to take this opportunity to extend our best wishes to those involved in the negotiations in the Middle East, especially the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), convinced, as we are, that it is necessary to move forward speedily to restore the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

Equally, we trust that the necessary measures will be taken for a just solution to the question of Western Sahara.

The people of South Africa are determined to achieve their liberation without further delay. This we will do through our own efforts.

However, we continue to count on members' support in order to realize this objective, both through the maintenance of existing measures designed to put pressure on the apartheid regime and through members' involvement in the various peaceful processes aimed at taking our country forward to the adoption of a democratic constitution.

Conscious of the historic role the United Nations must play in building a better world, our people is convinced that it will not fail us.

The meeting rose at 12.45 p.m.